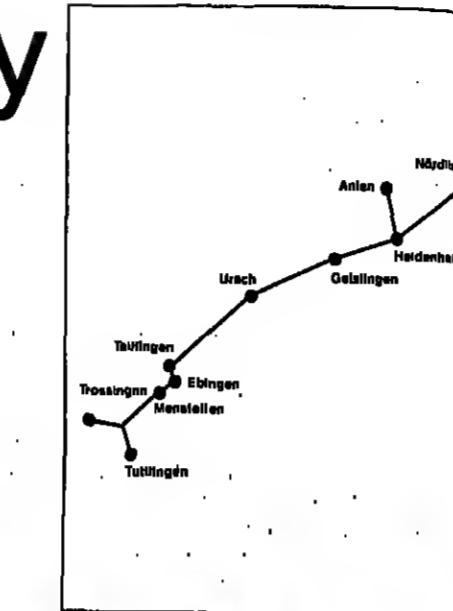


Routes to tour in Germany

The Swabian Alb Route

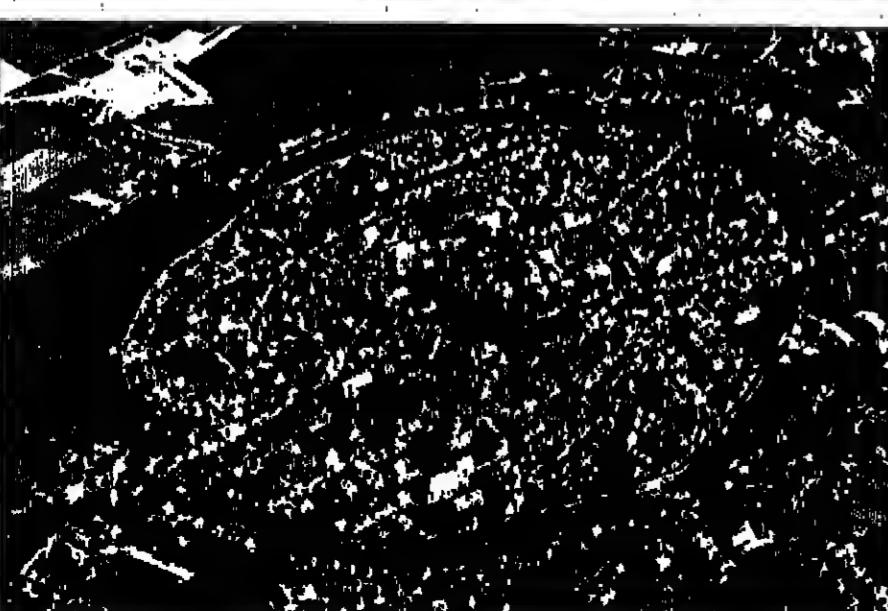
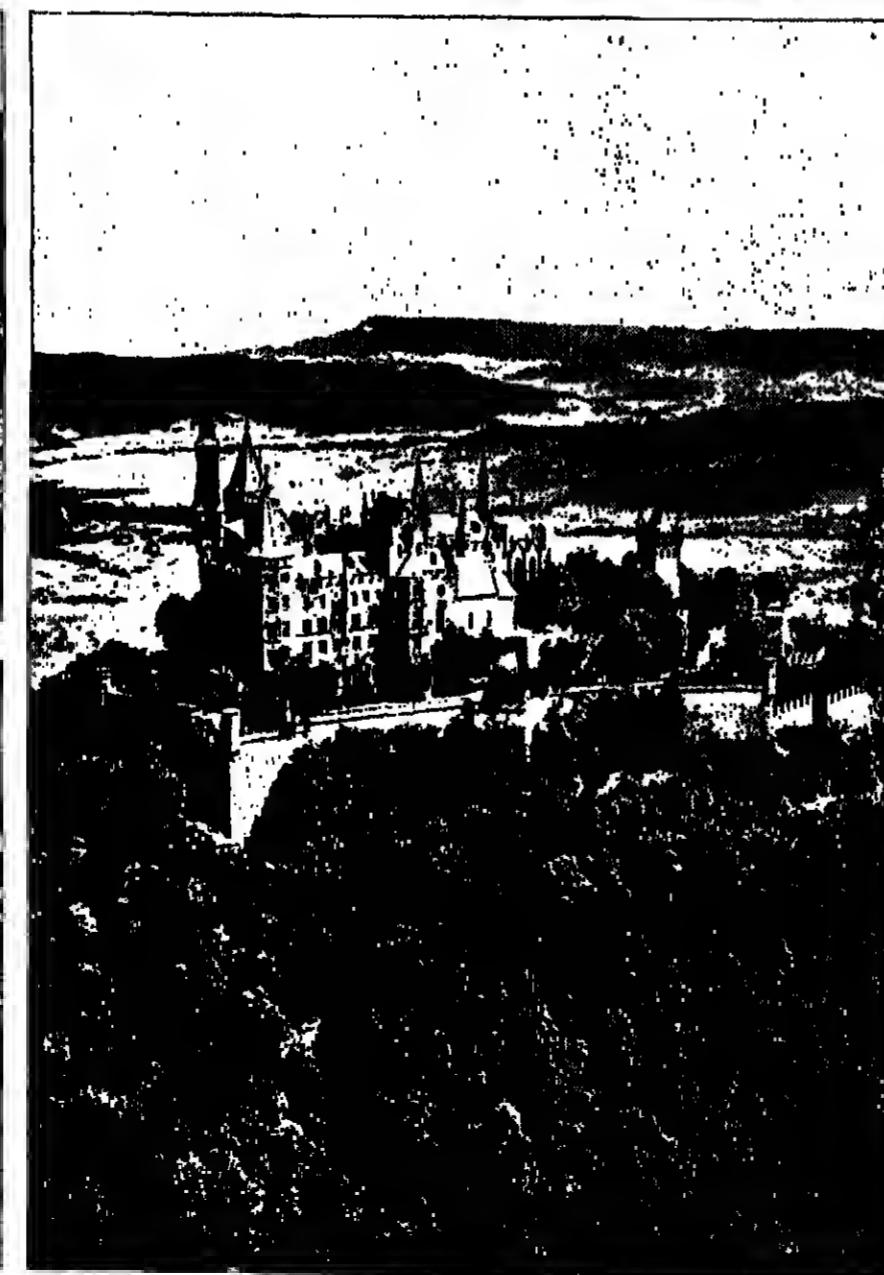
German roads will get you there. South of Stuttgart the Swabian Alb runs north-east from the Black Forest. It is a range of hills full of fossilised reminders of prehistory. It has a blustery but healthy climate, so have good walking shoes with you and scale a few heights as you try out some of the 6,250 miles of marked paths. Dense forests, caves full of stalactites and stalagmites, ruined castles and rocks that invite you to clamber will ensure variety.

You will also see what you can't see from a car: rare flowers and plants. The route runs over 125 miles through health resorts and nature reserves, passing Baroque churches, late Gothic and Rococo architecture and Hohenzollern Castle, home of the German Imperial family. Visit Germany and let the Swabian Alb Route be your guide.



- 1 View of the Hegau region, near Tübingen
- 2 Hohenheim
- 3 Nördlingen
- 4 Urach
- 5 Hohenzollern Castle

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The German Tribune

Hamburg, 19 June 1988
Twenty-seventh year - No. 1327 - By air

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

C 20725 C
ISSN 0016-8858
OEOBE A BX X

Nato's defence spending remains tough issue

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Complaints by the USA that the Nato allies in Europe are not paying their share of defence spending continue.

The sting has often been taken out of the criticism by statistics and reasoned argument.

But Europeans are now finding it increasingly difficult to stomach the accusations.

Following the Nato Defence Ministers meeting this unpalatable topic is bound to find its way onto the agenda of the spring meeting of Nato's Foreign Ministers in Madrid this month.

A solution is not in sight. In fact, the more Americans are forced to reduce their dangerously high budget deficit as well as their defence spending, the greater Washington's pressure on their European allies will be to fill the resultant gaps in the western defence system and take a greater share of the common burden.

The farmers whose livelihood is threatened in the Amerlenn mid-west and the assembly workers in Detroit whose jobs are threatened by European Community imports do not yet seem to have noticed that the Europeans have already done so.

European defence spending has been slowly but surely increasing over the past 15 years.

The US defence budget, on the other hand, has fluctuated a lot under the Ford, Carter, and Reagan administrations. Per capita defence spending over this time in the USA has fallen by three per cent.

There is every indication that the USA is going to find it extremely difficult to meet defence spending targets in future.

Washington expects to keep a cut in military spending over the next five years.

Americans can still underpin their demands on European allies by pointing towards the fact that they spend 6.5 per cent of their GNP on defence, as opposed to a figure of only 3.5 per cent in Europe.

These figures, however, present a distorted picture.

The USA's defence budget has to cover the military commitments of a superpower, including nuclear intercontinental missiles, SDI research, the costs of military advisers in Honduras, air bases on the Philippines and Gia in Berlin.

In Europe, on the other hand, Europeans provide 95 per cent of all divi-

sions, 90 per cent of the artillery, and 80 per cent of the tanks.

Europeans have assumed their fair share of tasks, costs and risks. Their share of the contributions made to the alliance is substantial.

It hasn't so much been the military officials in the Pentagon who have kept on raising the burden-sharing issue, but the US politicians in the presidential election campaign.

In politics, however, psychology is sometimes more important than facts.

Things such as the sending home of the 410th US squadron from Spain and the unnecessary and provocative decision by the Danish parliament not to allow warships equipped with nuclear weapons to sail into Danish ports have noticeably annoyed the American public.

The incoming Nato secretary-general, Manfred Wörner, who will be taking up his post in July, is not going to find it easy to prevent the dispute over burden-sharing from having an adverse effect on the alliance.

He can hardly count on getting more money for the military. The European taxpayer will find it difficult to understand why he should pay more money for armament at a time of increasing detente.

Even after medium-range nuclear missiles have been scrapped in Europe it would be wrong to jump for joy.

The military superiority of the Warsaw Pact, especially in the expensive field of conventional forces, still represents a threat to Europe.

The Europeans must try to prevent a gradual loss of their defensive capability.

This could be done by allocating funds more efficiently and stepping up military cooperation in the alliance.

A decisive aspect, however, is to complement the reduction of medium-range missiles by ensuring disarmament in the conventional field.

This would lead to a greater balance of military power and to more stability.

Both Americans and Europeans cannot afford not to make progress in this field.

Thomas Gnick

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 8 June 1988)



Nato foreign ministers meet in Madrid. From left Lao Tindemana (Belgium), Hans-Dieter Genscher (Germany) and Hans van den Broek (Holland). (Photo: dpa)

Foreign ministers look at security, Soviet reforms

Nato Foreign Ministers began their spring meeting in Madrid by discussing the Warsaw Pact countries, especially the Soviet Union.

Interest focused on its approach to economic problems and on the implications of Gorbachev's reforms.

The outgoing Nato secretary-general, Lord Carrington, warned alliance partners not to risk chances of further progress in East-West relations by exaggerating efforts towards detente.

Carrington stressed that the retention of the vital transatlantic alliance, adequate defence capability and balanced policy of negotiation with the Soviet Union and its partners are absolutely essential.

Success so far would not have been possible without a firm and united stance.

This had to be made clear to an impatient public which expected rapid headway on disarmament.

The difficulties facing Nato, especially that of how to share defence costs, were not dealt with directly during the first day.

But differences of opinion between Britain and the USA had already surfaced during a dinner on the evening before the meeting.

The squadron has to leave Spain next year. The biggest problem is financing any transfer to Italy.

During the meeting of Nato Defence Ministers in Brussels in May rumours circulated that the DM871m would be taken from the Nato's financing fund for the Nato infrastructure programme. This, apparently, is not true.

The truth was that the American Defence Secretary agreed to this idea, but that the Brussels meeting was unable to decide.

It also failed to reach agreement on fixing the extent of contributions to be made to the Nato infrastructure programme in 1990 and 1991.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 10 June 1988)

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■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Schultz and the mission in Middle East

US Secretary of State, George Schultz, returned from his fourth Middle East mission empty-handed.

Despite his characteristic optimism ("I hope that I get another chance during my period in office") the smiles cannot disguise the fact that all the effort was to no avail.

Even Schultz, a man with tremendous tenacity and patience, has been forced to admit that the will to overcome the age-old Middle East conflict seems to be on the wane.

If even the best intentions fail to bear fruit a twofold question arises: Why has George Schultz adopted the role of a Don Quixote and what lessons can be learnt from his quixotic failure?

The answer to the first question is obvious. The reason for the Schultz mission was the Palestinian *intifada*, the mass uprising against Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip which began last December.

It was often the predominant news feature on American TV and spread an atmosphere of crisis which virtually demanded some kind of historical peace-keeping deal.

After all, following the Yom Kippur war Henry Kissinger negotiated disengagement agreements (1973); a few years later Jimmy Carter helped shape the famous peace agreement between Cairo and Jerusalem (1979).

These feats were both an incentive and commitment for Schultz.

Admittedly, he may have overlooked one of the diplomatic truths formulated in a book on Camp David by Jimmy Carter's Middle East adviser, William Quandt:

"American leadership was undoubtedly a necessary albeit not sufficient precondition for success. The disputants had to be willing to reach agreement."

This insight also provides an answer to the second question: what does the failure of the Schultz mission imply for the future?

First and foremost, care must be taken not to succumb in the temptation of confusing the process with the product. Diplomatic action should not be expected to achieve more than rendered attainable by the constellation of interests of the conflicting parties.

Brokers can only mediate if their clients are genuinely interested in a deal, and if the compromise seems more acceptable than the status quo.

The fact that George Schultz was generally confronted by rejection, ranging from polite to disdainful, shows that, unfortunately, no one was willing to give what the other side demanded as a minimum price.

It also shows that — irrespective of *intifada* — many of those involved in the conflict feel that the present situation is associated with less risks than a deal in which high costs must already be paid today for uncertain profits which can only be reaped tomorrow.

Camp David worked because the deal had greater incentive.

Anwar Sadat was weary of the burden of war, and the "profits" of the deal looked good: the entire Israeli-occupied Sinai.

The Israelis didn't need the desert peninsula and was keen on peace with an Arab country which posed the biggest strategic threat to their security.

Furthermore, Jimmy Carter was able

right from the start to negotiate with two leaders, Sadat and Begin, who were the undisputed heads of government in their respective countries.

In the end, both leaders were able to present themselves as the winners of the Camp David agreement. The rich harvest had been reaped and, despite compromise, sacred national interests respected.

None of these conditions exist in 1988.

Damascus would have to abandon its role as radical objector, but the regaining of the Golan heights is not apparently an important enough factor.

King Hussein would have to bring his son make a decision — either to support negotiations with or without the PLO and for or against a claim to the West Bank.

Since his coronation in 1952, however, he has learnt that a clear course can be deadly. The PLO at any rate is unable to make up its mind. It remains trapped between the promotion of its revolutionary image and pragmatic politics which would recognise Israel's right to exist.

And the Israelis? Although a growing number want to shed the burden of rule over non-Israelis even more people are convinced that peace cannot be bought from his quixotic failure?

The answer to the first question is obvious. The reason for the Schultz mission was the Palestinian *intifada*, the mass uprising against Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip which began last December.

It was often the predominant news feature on American TV and spread an atmosphere of crisis which virtually demanded some kind of historical peace-keeping deal.

Neither Peres nor Shamir are Begin; Hussein could at most take action under the lee of a united Arab world (which is Utopian); and Yassir Arafat, the nominal chairman of a divided PLO, is too weak to actually come to an arrangement with Israel.

George Schultz deserves tremendous respect for continuing to tilt at windmills despite all this.

Perhaps he has prevented worse by doing so.

It looks, however, as if he has brought America's prestige to bear in this conflict at the wrong time and that his mission created deceptive hopes which spared the conflicting parties from facing up to harsh realities. In line with the motto: "America will fix it."

Shultz himself described the main lesson at the end of his fourth mission:

"The most important thing is for everyone to shake off illusions and realise that extreme dreams cannot come true."

Josef Joffe
(Suddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 9 June 1988)

Gandhi visit to Germany opens a long-overdue link

When India's Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, began his first official visit to the Federal Republic of Germany, his country was described as an "interesting partner".

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(Suddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 9 June 1988)

East European inertia looks less inert

changing of the guard in Bucharest, Sofia or East Berlin is unlikely to take place as it did in Budapest.

In Hungary the leader was all too clearly ousted from power.

With the exception of Mikhail Gorbachev, the socialist states are ruled by a bunch of old men.

All other East Bloc leaders have reached an age at which German civil service law would have long since sent them into retirement.

The Bulgarian leader, Todor Zhivkov, is 77; Erich Honecker (East Germany) is 76; Nicolae Ceausescu (Romania) is 70; Milos Jakes (Czechoslovakia), who replaced 75-year-old Gustav Husak six months ago, is 66, and Wojciech Jaruzelski (Poland) is 65.

In view of their ages, therefore, some of these leaders can be expected to suffer the same fate as Janos Kadar, although a

model? Sooner or later a major transition can be expected at leadership level.

This will be more than just the traditional changing of faces. Mikhail Gorbachev has shown that new politicians can also introduce new policies.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the current party leaders in Eastern Europe are, to varying degrees, reluctant to go along with more perestroika and glasnost. When the old men of Eastern Europe do resign or are forced to step

Continued on page 3

The German Tribune
Friedrich Rabecke Verlag GmbH, 3-4 Hartwicusstrasse,
D-2000 Hamburg 7. Tel.: 22 85 1, Telex: 02-14738.
Editor-in-Chief: Otto F. Eberle; Alexander Anthony;
English language sub-editor: Birthe Bremann. — Distribution manager: Georgine Picone.

Published weekly with the exception of the second week in January, the second week in April, the third week in September and the third week in November.

Advertising rates list No. 18.

Annual subscription DM 48.

Printed by CWN Niemeyer-Druck, Hanover.

Distributed in the USA by: MARS MAILINGS, Inc., 640 West 24th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.

For subscriptions and advertising addresses to The German Tribune 1/2 MARS MAILINGS.

Articles in THE GERMAN TRIBUNE are translated from the original text and published by agreement with leading newspapers in the Federal Republic of Germany.

In all correspondence please quote your subscription number which appears on the wrapper, between asterisks, above your address.

Helmut Verfürth

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 9 June 1988)

■ SECURITY

German alliance with Britain an often under-rated fact of strategic life

Ask any German which countries he feels are his own country's most important allies and he will probably say the United States and France. Britain is rarely mentioned.

Bonn Chancellors, beginning with Konrad Adenauer, have never developed relationships with statesmen in London anywhere near as strong as those with de Gaulle, Giscard and Mitterrand.

And British governments have rarely attached great importance to emphasising Anglo-German relations.

Bonn and Paris have never shied away from popularising their bilateral relationship.

Accordingly, the joint manoeuvre Kecker Spatz between German and French troops was given more publicity than the Lionheart manoeuvre, even though the British manoeuvre was an important test for the viability of the strategy for defending Germany.

In order to assess the value of our British ally a look should be taken at Britain's exemplary influence on the other allies.

British assumes the role of multiplier. Its contribution to the alliance and its traditional role as a moderator in European conflicts helps create a bond between other allies.

This aspect needs to be explained in greater detail.

Washington may regard Germany as the most important territory in Europe. However, no country is so close and

so easy-to-understand in Europe for the Americans than Britain.

American tourists feel a greater attachment to Stratford-on-Avon than, say, Heidelberg.

Churchill and his successors may have overinterpreted the "special relationship" to Washington in the British interest. Yet the special relationship does exist.

No leader of a European government, for example, could translate "Europe" for the American president better than the British Prime Minister.

Twice during this century America intervened in Europe, above all, to protect Britain.

The Americans, until this is connected with the shared language, will trust Europeans as long as it can trust the British allies.

The catalytic impact of our British ally goes even further.

The stationing of the British Rhine Army in Germany has greater political value than the mere presence of the four divisions.

Via this corps the British command is linked with Nato via an army group and an air fleet.

It thus represents the military protection of northern Germany.

Frankfurter Allgemeine

In the foreign policy field Britain is the "natural" spokesman for the smaller northern European nations, the Belgians, the Dutch, the Danes and the Norwegians.

The Americans assure them all the protection of a world power.

Following the experience of the other Europeans in two world wars, however, the British keep the alliance together along with the Germans.

Has this been fully understood as a fact of life for the alliance in Bonn?

This relationship is extremely important for both countries.

For British politics, which does not differ from French politics in this respect, the presence of troops in Germany is needed in order to be taken into account when the superpowers get together over a map of Europe.

A close and fostered relationship to both France and Britain makes sure that Bonn's interests are properly perceived, whether in the alliance or vis-à-vis the Soviet Union.

Cooperation in the Anglo-Franco-German triangle, as a kind of "European pillar", is politically more constructive, more effective, more influential in Washington, and more acceptable in terms of the alliance than any other combination.

It would be worthwhile to invest the kind of energy and devote the kind of attention to the Anglo-German relationship which Bonn already takes for granted in Franco-German relations.

Günther Gillessen

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 7 June 1988)

withdrawal of US troops from Germany is not ever desirable.

This probably explains why Moscow has been very restrained in its remarks on the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe and left the making of plans up to the smaller Warsaw Pact countries and the West German advocates of the idea.

The Comecon declaration in which West Berlin is recognised as a part of the European Community is further proof that Moscow in fact wants Bonn to strengthen its western ties so ensure the eastern integration of East Germany.

Just as Chancellor Willy Brandt created the basis for his Ostpolitik via agreement with French president Georges Pompidou about the intensification and enlargement of the European Community in 1969 the twin-track approach will remain the only promising strategy for Bonn's future foreign policy.

The overriding objective of Mikhail Gorbachev's foreign policy was initially to make as much headway as possible in the field of greater understanding with the western superpower over disarmament and detente while President Reagan is still in office.

Without the political will of these two politicians the European Community would not be marching towards a single front-free common market.

Whether this objective is achieved by the end of 1992 or at a later stage is beside the point. The trend is irreversible.

Further steps towards integration will almost automatically follow.

For Kohl integration in the West is absolutely essential.

The desire for greater German influence is not the only reason for his attempts to get Germans appointed to top international posts, such as Nato secretary-general or president of the European Commission.

The aim is to turn the attention of German citizens to their country's role in western institutions.

The same consideration ensured the support of Washington, London and Paris for the appointment of Manfred Wörner as the alliance secretary-general.

The fact that this decision was opposed by the other partners may make it easier for the Frenchman Jacques Delors to gain the support of the Twelve for an extension of his presidency of the European Commission.

Moscow's admission of an East Bloc armed forces superiority is probably connected with the realisation that a

Ernst Hauser

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 4 June 1988)

■ PEOPLE IN POLITICS

Young Bavarian on the rise, armed with a sharp tongue and an appetite for conflict

This article on Peter Gauweiler, a young but already controversial Bavarian politician, was written for the Bonn daily, *Die Welt*, by Peter Schmitz.

Peter Gauweiler, 38, is the youngest member of the Bavarian *Landtag* in Bonn. He is not a minister, but holds the rank of state secretary.

Despite his relative youth, he has already developed a habit of catching headlines and his reputation is now such that he is in demand as a speaker not only within Bavaria but all over the country.

Gauweiler, naturally a member of the Christian Social Union, the Bavarian branch of the Christian Democrat conservative union, is regarded as the political grandson of the Bavarian party boss, Franz Josef Strauss.

In his office, Gauweiler is ready to leave. He removes the jacket he wears during the day and dons a loose green-grey costume jacket, tucks down the broad stirrup of the Interior Ministry and drives off in his dark-blue BMW. He is off to make a speech at Dachau, north of Munich.

As the car rolls through the sluggish rush-hour traffic, Gauweiler uses the car telephone to talk to colleagues in the Finance Ministry about compensation for flood-water damage victims.

The BMW does not stand out in the streets of the Bavarian capital. Neither is it accompanied by a security escort. Once,

CSU politicians liked to drive with a blue light on the car roof. Gauweiler's is in the lead. The less conspicuous the car, the better. He doesn't like bodyguards. He thinks that in many cases the system of personal security has deteriorated to a stu-

pid symbol. But now his thoughts are elsewhere. It is raining this evening and that raises a human question for politicians: will anyone brave the weather to turn up to hear him speak?

It comes as a surprise that such a thought would even enter his head. His name is a household one, like a popular brand-name product; and his popularity has now outstripped that of nearly all his party colleagues. Magazines splash his photograph across their front pages and hope to boost its sales.

He doesn't like letting everyone know everything and, like his mentor, Strauss, prefers it if both friend and enemy come up against surprises now and again.

Gauweiler is a lawyer who studied under Rupert Scholz, who is the new Bonn Defence Minister (replacing Manfred Wörner, who is taking Lord Carrington's place as Secretary General of Nato).

Gauweiler has become, after Strauss, the most well-known of Bavarian's politicians both inside and outside Bavaria and the politician with apparently the brightest future of any of Strauss' protégés.

And over the past few months, no one has been more talked about in the cabinet than its youngest member.

The car is now outside the city limits and is approaching Dachau. A police car joins them and accelerates to the front as escort. Gauweiler grabs a second telephone and says politely but firmly: "Not

quite so fast, please." What he regards as a decrease in driving standards worries him and he wants to set an example by driving with self-discipline.

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In demand as a speaker... Peter Gauweiler. (Photo: dpa)

include Strauss himself, Baden-Württemberg Premier Lothar Späth and Bonn Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg.

Heribert Huber, the local CSU member in the state assembly, says: "Only Strauss gets a bigger turnout than Gauweiler here."

Local CSU boss Josef Kaspar: "He has a sharp intellect, a sharp tongue and his heart's in the right place."

Gauweiler takes out five books.

Never has a politician produced as much literature in this brief time. Among them is *The Plague*, by Albert Camus; a work by behavioural expert Konrad Lorenz; and three books about AIDS — one from his Swedish adviser on the subject, another a collection put together from a series by the weekly magazine, *Der Spiegel*, and the other called *Parents Away From Fear*, by Rita Süssmuth herself.

He speaks at first quietly, and that brings calls from the back of "louder". It is more like seminar than a festival. He talks about language as a means of fighting; and says that political differences are decided not with the hands but with head and mouth.

The audience is seldom roused to applause — but it was when he made some remarks about Rita Süssmuth.

He believes he was convincing: "If they had been bored, it wouldn't have been quiet for a minute. They would have started talking to the next person."

He is proud that he began a debate through a small passage which appeared in the magazine *Esquire*. Actually, he explains that he had merely quoted Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister (in his speeches he refers to her as one of the few men among European heads of government) when she referred to "programme to overcome national decadence."

He says the response was enormous. The letters piled up. "At last someone who has dared to state what is at the roots of AIDS contamination." And: "You have hit the nail on the head: a rowdy minority, pampered and wood by politicians, the media and partly also by the churches, is driving the majority to chaos."

When Gauweiler was due to appear, all hell broke loose. Rowdies tried to storm the hall before the meeting and they welcomed the Bavarian guest on the street outside with a rumptu and cries of "Hell, helter, Gauweiler!" One hissed at him: "Why don't you piss off."

Was he afraid? He says he has gone through much worse, like in the student riots of 1968 when he was on "the other side."

He was then at Munich university where he was chairman of the RCDS the Christian Democrat student organisation. He knows what to do when he is confronted by a mob.

This night there was also a lot of noise at Dachau, but it was from the brass band playing a march. There were 2,500 in the tent to hear him. It was an evening backed by tradition, an evening when a politician is always invited, a festival evening.

"We must again find the courage to speak out about what is uncomfortable and not just say nice things with an eye on the next election," he says.

That is the style of this political grandsons of Strauss. On the run home, he shoves a cassette of *Evita* in the player. He likes it. The way people are inevitably held in the grip of this girl at the microphone is something that appeals to him.

The subsequent and often apolitical reactions in Bonn meant that New Delhi

Others to speak here at various times

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Peter Schmitz
(Die Welt, Bonn, 27 May 1988)

■ PERSPECTIVE

India, a nation of many parts and a bulwark of regional stability

If the Indian Ocean were to become the scene of persistent conflict between the superpowers, there would be dramatic changes in the international political scenario — and only a level-headed and steadfast India is in a position to prevent this happening, says Günter Diehl, who was Bonn's Ambassador in New Delhi between 1970 and 1977. Diehl says in a wide-ranging article about India to mark the visit this month to Germany by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi that New Delhi and Bonn follow different foreign and security policies not because they have different aims, but because they are forced to by different geo-political factors. The article appeared in the Bonn daily, *Die Welt*.

Both countries will try to prevent Moscow from misjudging and at the same time give the Soviet Union time for its process of restructuring. India is a worthwhile field for German-Indian consultation. India is in the best position to rid Moscow of the misconception that the non-alignment movement is pro-Soviet and anti-western.

Germans often don't realise that India is a major power; the astonishing fact is that Rajiv Gandhi's visit to Germany comes 17 years after the last visit by an Indian Prime Minister — when his mother, Indira Gandhi, came to visit Chancellor Willy Brandt in 1971.

There are several other alarming facts which illuminate our relationship to a country which is one of the 10 most powerful states in the world.

There is, for a start, a lack of political substance in the relationship. An intensification of economic and cultural ties alone cannot fill the gap, especially since there is plenty of catching up to do in these fields too.

We generally tend to view India as a country like any other, referring to German-Indian relations as we would to relations with Britain, France or Brazil. In reality India is more comparable with the European Community than with any single nation-state. No single language is spoken and written by all Indians, and there is not even a standard alphabet for all Indian languages.

A glance at a map of the world should be enough to understand that Germany, a small strip of land between the North and Baltic Seas in the north and the Alps in the south, has no means of defending itself on its own. India, on the other hand, with its huge land mass and enormous population, can protect itself, providing it does not neglect its defence. It does not have to rely on an alliance.

Today, the deeply-rooted racial, tribal, religious and caste differences again surface with growing intensity. The unifying political force which created a modern India was the common struggle of almost all Indians against British colonial rule.

Today, the deeply-rooted racial, tribal, religious and caste differences again surface with growing intensity.

The Indian government is confronted by mammoth tasks. Although New Delhi claims that the biggest threat is from outside, the problems of internal integration, such as those tragically reflected by the conflicts with the Sikhs in the Punjab, pose the real challenge.

Almost as many people live in India as in the whole of South Africa and Latin America.

If in New Delhi and Bonn, therefore, pursue differing foreign and security policies because they are forced to by their geopolitical locations, not because they have differing objectives. Similar objectives are simply pursued by different means.

This leaves sufficient scope for security policy cooperation.

We in Germany can pride ourselves on having acknowledged non-alignment as a sensible policy for India at any early stage.

India itself never tried to dismiss the reasons for conflict as unimportant and then label the self-deception as defence.

Whenever it was itself in an area of conflict, India even used armed forces if it felt this was necessary to eliminate the cause of conflict.

The subsequent and often apolitical reactions in Bonn meant that New Delhi

This appraisal of the situation was

often attached greater importance to consultations with London and Paris in the foreign and security policy field.

India has always felt uneasy about its assumed proximity to the Soviet Union in the East-West conflict.

Following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan non-alignment was also put to the test, the Soviet Union making an attempt to turn the non-aligned states into auxiliaries.

India and Germany have an equal interest in developments in the Soviet Union.

Both countries will try to prevent Moscow from misjudging and at the same time give the Soviet Union time for its process of restructuring.

India is increasingly growing into its role as a major power. This creates problems with the superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States.

India would probably like to see both keep out of the region.

India's size leads to tension with its neighbours. It is too big not to give cause for concern.

In addition, the deliberate division of India by Britain meant that the risk of future conflicts always shouldered beneath the surface.

We can look back on similar problems in German politics and the resolution of most of the conflicts within the framework of closer ties and associations with other European countries.

The Indian subcontinent also has an ideal basis for economic cooperation at least between all its federal states.

We view with interest and great satisfaction the materialisation of regional agreements and feel that the setting up of the South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation can be rightly rated as an initial contribution towards the economic and political stabilisation of the region.

The large-scale and successful industrial exhibition Technoferma in India in 1988 documents our growing interest in the intensification of economic relations with India.

During this exhibition the ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany in New Delhi, Dr Konrad Seitz, seized the opportunity to frankly state the facts and figures.

India, he said, has withdrawn from the world economy during the past 40 years. Its share in world exports only amounts to 0.5 per cent.

German investments in India account for less than two per cent of the total.

India has 760 million inhabitants, a GNP of well over \$200bn, and a standing army of 1.1 million regulars.

And in no way did Bonn have any historical amends to make. We were not involved in India's exploitation.

Germany has an intellectual potential which could secure the country's leading position in the world.

During the Technoferma exhibition ambassador Seitz said that the time had come to utilise growing mutual interest and turn this into concrete cooperation.

The time has indeed come to do something which is long overdue.

In comparison with the heated political discussions in Germany on problems of only secondary importance activities in the field of German-Indian cooperation would help safeguard the future existence of over one billion people in India and the European Community.

Günter Diehl



The author, Günter Diehl, was Bonn ambassador in New Delhi between 1970 and 1977. (Photo: Die Welt)

possible in another field, the peaceful use of nuclear energy and space research. Activities here were consolidated by the signing of a corresponding agreement on 5 October, 1971.

The underground nuclear explosion in Rajasthan on 18 May, 1974, did not noticeably alter the structure of cooperation.

High-tech cooperation is just as successful as cooperation in other fields with a promising future, the organisation of which was laid down to the satisfaction of both sides in two agreements in 1972 and 1974.

India today has a market of 760 million people, 150 million of whom are well-off even by our standards.

After 1992 the European Community in its capacity as a single market will be India's most important and most powerful partner by far.

There has been some exemplary cooperation between India and Germany in the development policy field.

Bonn grants loans which are not tied to use for specific large-scale projects.

German assistance found its expression in countless small-scale measures which were invaluable for the Indian economy.

Only the large-scale projects, however, such as the old but still operational Rourkela steelworks, hit the headlines.

Technical cooperation was set in a framework of agreements and arrangements in 1971.

■ FRONTIER-FREE EUROPE

Airline mergers, both real and imagined, ready for 1992

Frankfurter Allgemeine**In no other sector are there so many rumours of imminent mergers as in aviation.****The most recent combinations have been circulated, Scandinavia's SAS with Swissair, or Austrian Airlines. And each of these has in turn been mentioned in connection with the Belgian Sabena and the Dutch KLM.****Some of these rumours are pure fiction. Others are wishful thinking. But others are right on target.****The most important recent merger is British Airways' takeover of British Caledonian. This created by far the largest airline in Europe.****Then the chairman of the Swiss regional carrier, Crossair, announced that Swissair was taking up new shares in the airline.****Lufthansa, in cooperation with Spain's Iberia, has founded a new charter company, Vuelos Internacionales de Vacaciones or Viva. Lufthansa has also bought into the Luxembourg airfreight line, Cargolux.****KLM has acquired a shareholding in Netherlands' regional airline, and Transavia, a charter company. Sabena has taken up a shareholding in Delta Air Transport of Antwerp.****This list is far from complete. It could be expanded by including, among other things, the instances in which small airlines, under contract with larger companies, take to the air under "Big Brother's" flight numbers where possible. This is also a kind of merger.****This closing of ranks is generally agreed to be a reaction to the intensive liberalisation of air travel which will accompany a barrier-free Europe which comes into effect in 1992.****Airline executives obviously expect the same thing to happen in Europe as in the United States after deregulation in 1978 — a concentration of airlines.****As a result of deregulation in America, five airlines now control 80 per cent of air traffic compared with more than a dozen before deregulation.****In America concentration took place in a single country. In Europe individual airlines extend over non-European Community countries. They put out feelers beyond the Community's frontiers.****Non-European airline executives also want to get a foot in the European door before 1992 and so cash in on the expected increase in traffic.****It was not just accidental that Mirizzi Sinter, boss and founder of Crossair, moved his headquarters from Zürich to the French airport of Illas/Mulhouse.****Regional airlines within the Community itself are giving top priority to being linked to large airlines. It seems that the initiatives for these links are coming from the regional airlines.****An important consideration is that the size of the planes deployed will increasingly smudge the dividing line between regional companies and major airlines.****The basic principles of regional air traffic of 1985 are still valid for Lufthansa. They laid down: "The size of air-****craft deployed in regional and feeder air traffic will be limited upwards by the smallest Lufthansa aircraft (currently about 100 passengers). The lower limit will be dictated by the market."****There is a considerable gap in the size of aircraft deployed in regional air traffic and the planes used by national airline rights.****But there has been a two-digit growth in regional air traffic over the past few years which has meant that the size of aircraft used has also increased.****Where once planes with seats for 19 passengers operated, 40-seaters are now deployed.****Manufacturers are offering ever-larger aircraft. They go from 40 to 60 to 70 and up to 100 seats. At this point the chain meshes into the major airlines.****The consideration that the larger airlines could also deploy aircraft with 70 or 80 seats increases the smaller companies need for support.****These fears are not then entirely unwarranted because in future more and more aircraft deployed on regional routes will be fitted with jet engines. At present turbo-prop engines predominate.****A strong motive urging airlines to concentrate their activities is that airport capacities are being used almost to the full.****But it has hardly reached the point in Europe that has been reached in the United States where slogan "mega-carriers****ers" have monopolised an entire central airport's check-in counters and loading bays, so that no other airline could land or take-off at reasonable times.****Nevertheless it is still decisive for the existence of an airline that it is allocated favourable "slots" when planes can take-off and land.****A large grouping of airlines holds out a better chance for the individual airline in the battle for slots.****A regional airline that offers a feeder service for Lufthansa flights from Frankfurt, or Air France flights from Paris, can expect that the larger partner will stand up for it for the appropriate hauling rights.****Cooperation between partners of equal size is another reason for getting closer together. Airlines work out joint schedules for specific routes so that instead of deploying two aircraft that would, for instance, be only a third full, they operate one plane that is two-thirds occupied on this leg.****Cooperation in logistics is also gaining in importance. Lufthansa, for instance, developed its "Anadeus" booking system in cooperation with Air France, Iberia and SAS. A number of other airlines have since joined the system.****Anyone who wants to be successful in the European single market must be able to offer business travellers a package of services.****Apart from a worldwide booking system this includes hotel reservations and car hire. The process of concentration of effort has taken place in this sector as well.****But it has hardly reached the point in Europe that has been reached in the United States where slogan "mega-carriers****Helmut Uehling**
**Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
for Deutschland, 7 June 1988**

Preparing for the day when the barriers come down

Heribert Stich, director in Siemens' central marketing division in Munich, plays down the date when Europe is to become a single internal market.**He asked: "What will change after that date? You can already buy German refrigerators in Spain. Customs duty of five per cent is so low that it can be ignored."****The same is happening in other companies as well. The calm is deceptive. Mergers with, and participation in the equity of, EC companies is the order of the day.****Daimler-Benz has secured a shareholding in the French armaments company Matra. Europe's largest paper manufacturer, Feldmühle AG in Düsseldorf, has bought up two French competitors.****Pump manufacturers Klein, Schmitz & Becker of Frankfurt in the Palatinate has improved its market share by taking over the largest pump manufacturer west of the Rhine, KSB, is now also making eyes at its Italian competitor, Corva.****Finally Robert Bosch GmbH of Stuttgart has taken shares in the telephone division of Jaumont-Schneider.****Stich does not believe that there will be a perfect harmonisation of laws, regulations and standards among the 12 EC nations, but this is not essential, as the examples in Switzerland and the United States show.****In America, for instance, there are considerable differences between the states on environmental matters.****Siemens has taken important steps in**

US carriers look to Berlin routes

When President Reagan suggested a year ago in Berlin that the city should become an aviation crossroads between East and West, American airlines immediately reacted as if it were an invitation to get in on the act — and no half measures — and win a slice of the Berlin-to-West Germany traffic.**Behind the intention is preparation for the single internal market and to gain in the air ready for the day that crossing borders will become "domestic" traffic.****The newly-discovered interest in the divided city has been occupying the Allies' air attachés in Bonn. Since the occupation of Germany they — traditionally and together — have supervised flights in and from Berlin, flight schedules and prices.****They have also kept an eye on developments so that their own national airlines do not suffer in the face of competition.****For many years the three western airlines, Air France, PanAm and British Airways, have divided up the traffic from Berlin to nine destinations in the Federal Republic.****The main idea was that the three air corridors set up after the Second World War should be used by the airlines, so demonstrating a customary right.****When, after the agreement had run out, several airlines re-thought about their rights to serve all Federal Republic airports, originating from the days of reoccupation, the air attachés in Bonn felt their first irritation.****British Airways got approval for its plans, made known on the evening before the first flight, of operating a service between Berlin and Munich as it had done before.****With a similar, last-minute decision PanAm wanted to include from 1 June Cologne and Düsseldorf once more in its network, since the airline did have rights on these routes.****But this time the diplomats in the Bonn embassies could not agree. The reasons are obvious.****The British and French want to put up a front against the Americans' concentrated Berlin interests.****The American air attaché had no other way out than to sell the flight wishes of American Airlines and PanAm in a package including PanAm's ambitions.****PanAm had to think again when permission was not obtained. In order to carry the 5,000 passengers already booked from Cologne and Düsseldorf to Berlin the much-cherished Berlin air traffic became something grotesque.****PanAm aircraft, brought in from America, flew the stretches on Thursdays, Saturdays and Sundays to Düsseldorf and Cologne with new crews but under British Airways flight numbers, since PanAm's competitors, British Airways and Air France, could not handle the additional passengers with their own scheduled aircraft.****In future PanAm passengers will have to fly with the British and French, who have been without competition so far.****PanAm, which is opening up again or traffic at all West German airports, will not let up on its expansion plans.****Rudolf Metzler**
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, München, 6 June 1988)**Continued on page 7**

■ TRADE

Farm deal between Europe and America key to outcome of Gatt talks

They are being forced to export those products in which they have an edge, that is agricultural produce and textiles of every kind. The EC resists this.**Indebtedness is one of the main problems for discussion at the seven-nation economic summit in Toronto in a few weeks time.****If the agricultural problem is not tackled then much that is now being discussed will be valueless.****Washington wants to advance agricultural reform. Proposals will be put on the negotiating table, before the half-time assessments in December. It could be a stormy meeting if the EC does not come up with something new.****Hans-Jürgen Mahnke**
(Die Welt, Bonn, 27 May 1988)**(Die Welt, Bonn, 27 May 1988)****policy for some time then the Community will gain a breathing-space.****But the crucial problem of the difference in price levels within the EC and on world markets remains as does the question of dumping up imports.****This is a considerable problem for the developing nations. These countries are being forced more and more into international export strategies to solve their debt problems.****The Americans believe that fundamentally only the most efficient suppliers should operate on international markets.****The EC sees things differently. Restraints should be applied not only to surpluses but subsidised exports too.****Ultimately the EC is striving for self-sufficiency in its domestic market.****Guaranteed by effective tariff protection prices should be higher than on the world market. Imports are regarded as evil.****Over the past three years there have been signs that the subsidy tempo is being braked at least. Countries such as France, the Netherlands and Britain regard price reductions as acceptable to get closer to world market levels.****The present state is deceptive. At the most recent meeting of the OECD Council of Ministers, the USA was surprisingly generous.****This was mainly because the French elections were due and this was hampering the EC's room for manoeuvre. The Americans were not looking for a fight, not yet.****It was confirmed at the end of the OECD conference that representatives from the industrialised nations would agree on a "framework approach," whatever that might mean, so as to dampen down tensions on agricultural produce markets.****The supply of agricultural produce from the industrialised countries continues to exceed demand. This comes about from state subsidy measures that prevent agricultural producers being subjected to market forces.****The result is not only economic and trade problems but also taxpayers and consumers have to foot the bill.****Since the beginning of the 1980s aid measures for agriculture have almost doubled to DM 400 million annually among the OECD nations.****The EC is being challenged. It looks as if Brussels will again play for time for in some sectors over-production is dropping.****The Americans will no longer accept****If the EC can continue to pursue this****The European market is larger than any other economic zone in the world. There are more than 320 million consumers in it.****Because the member-states in the south have in the main a low standard of living, marketing strategists calculate that they will do well.****The answer could be that 53 per cent of Federal Republic exports already go into EC countries.****The most important branches such as cars, mechanical engineering, electrical engineering and chemicals have not waited for 1992. They have been export-minded for a long time. The domestic market has been too small for the size of these companies for some years.****This means that they are used to performing on the international stage. They feel they are well equipped to meet 1992.****Furthermore the Federal Republic is the market with the largest purchasing power in Europe.****German standards have asserted themselves extensively. The German Industrial and Trade Association recently rejoiced about this.****Why is it that Federal Republic companies have been restrained until now about the opportunities that have been offered them in Europe?****Inge Nowak**
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 7 June 1988)**pendence was endangered by the agreement and the fact that Bonn had reached an agreement, binding at international law, without consulting it.****Some months ago the bank asked the government to provide an explanation in writing. Herr Pöhl regards the answer the bank received as merely "a provisional notification."****In the broadcast he mentioned again the safeguarding of the Bundesbank's independence in connection with the agreement.****The agreement states that both countries will coordinate their financial and economic policies in the Finance and Economic Affairs Council, set up in the context of the January agreement.****Pöhl fears that this could be interpreted to mean that the central bank's sovereignty could be limited.****"In future we would be legally obliged to agree our policies with France beforehand," Pöhl said and described this as an extraordinary course of events.****He also regarded as "very extraordinary" that the Bundesbank president would be obliged to appear before meetings of the Council. Until now Pöhl has only had to take part in cabinet meetings in Bonn on quite specific occasions. Otherwise he is quite at liberty to do what he will with his time.****Pöhl says further stimulation of the German economy was not necessary.****He said: "There is absolutely no reason to worry about further stimulus."****Economic developments in Germany were positive. But Germany must make efforts to reduce its high trade surpluses, particularly with European partners.****Pöhl does not see any inflationary tendencies. He said: "In my view we can expect the price trend to be as good as it ever was."****In any case there were no indications that the upward surge of prices has accelerated worldwide.****It was of course the duty of central banks to watch developments. There was always "potential for inflationary developments that we cannot disregard."****On the development of the dollar, Pöhl said that the Bundesbank was concerned that the mark should not swing from one extreme to the other. The current weakness of the mark was no cause for alarm.****dpa/Reuter****(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 6 June 1988)**

■ INDUSTRY

45 die after mine blast — six miraculously survive

Forty-five miners died when an explosion wrecked their pit at Brinken, in Hesse. Six were rescued after living in an air bubble more than 300 feet under the ground for three days. Of the 57 trapped, the six were the only ones rescued. Six are still missing and 45 bodies have been found. It has been revealed that a few hours after the explosion, the six eventually rescued were spoken to by radio but the link was discontinued in the mistaken belief that they were members of one of the rescue units. The six, five Germans and a Turk, said the air bubble was about 100 yards long. They had lunch boxes and water bottles. The cause of the explosion is not known. Klaus Brill wrote this report for *Süddeutsche Zeitung*.

Again and again the men from the rescue squad of the Stolzenbach colliery in Borken return from their journey below ground and step out of their minibus in silence, exhausted.

With black streaks on their overalls and black patches on their faces they gaze sceptically at the waiting journalists.

Only once, after rescuing six of the 57 miners buried underground following a pit explosion on 1 June, did their faces show any joy.

And only then did the rescuers feel like talking to the journalists.

"Great, fantastic, marvellous," said

one of the rescuers, a man whose friend gave him away as someone from the Kuhl area.

"This makes it all worthwhile," he added, only indirectly mentioning the physical and psychological strain for the rescuers during their dangerous underground expeditions. "When you find someone it keeps you going."

One of the six rescued told a television reporter what it was like during the 65 hours trapped underground:

"When you're lying down there, after a while you start seeing lights that aren't there."

"And when you see lights that really are there, when someone suddenly comes round the corner after days of waiting, it's..."

Overwhelmed by the memory of this moment of joy and relief he is unable to finish the sentence.

"We all rushed up to them, and then they sent us back to begin with because we were running straight into a cloud of gas."

This cloud of gas, the high concentration of carbon monoxide which formed following the explosion was deadly for most of the 57 miners buried underground.

The six men rescued owe their survival to the fact that they backed away from the invisible cloud and ran into an out-of-the-way gallery in the colliery's East Field, where there found enough oxygen to hold out for so long.



To hell and back. Four of the survivors after 65-hour ordeal. (Photo: AP)

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Was it the level-headedness of their head free-worker Thomas Geppert, himself a member of a miners' rescue brigade, which made them instinctively ready to carry passengers?

Or was it the fact that a fellow-miner came rushing towards them, already dazed by the gas, as they tried to flee to the shaft exit? Or was it a mixture of both?

The statements so far by the survivors, their families and the emergency committee in charge of rescue operations present an incomplete picture.

One thing, however, seems certain: the six survivors reacted in an extremely disciplined manner in their dungeon, three metres high, 2.5 metres wide and 150 metres below ground, at the end of the pillar gallery 5 N.

First of all, they laid down flat on the ground so as to use up as little oxygen as possible.

They shared the little bread and water they had and used their lamps so sparingly that they were still working when they were rescued 65 hours after the explosion.

They listened carefully to the noises which came from a borehole drilled into the ground not far from their location the day after the explosion.

Yet they also feared for their lives — at least some of them, who already made their will.

"I said, I don't need to make one, they'll get us out of here," said Thomas Geppert later.

According to a relative, Geppert has nerves of steel and never gave up hope — as opposed to those in charge of the rescue operation above ground.

Very few members of the colliery management, its works council and the Mining Office in Kassel believed that there would be a repeat of the "miracle of Lengede", when 11 German miners were rescued after a fortnight underground in 1963.

The Hessischer Rundfunk radio station team were among the skeptics.

On Saturday 4 June they got wind of information that, contrary to all expectations, no carbon monoxide had strenuously been when a borehole was drilled in the East Field.

The reporters stayed at the colliery and helped out with a directional microphone as technicians listened with a stethoscope for any knocking noises at the borehole.

There was soon no doubt about the fact that there were survivors underground.

This is just one of the aspects of the critical questions directed at the management of rescue operations the following day.

Krämer explained that it then seemed

Continued on page 11

■ TRANSPORT

No more clickety clack: but future of high-speed magnet train is in doubt

For 20 years, the train of the future has been in the process of being planned, designed and tested: it is the Transrapid, a 400 kilometre-an-hour speedster built with magnet-suspension technology.

This month, decisions over its future are due to be made. Does it even have one? Or will it become an expensive white elephant. Peter Zudeck looks at the project for the Hamburg weekly, *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*.

The latest experimental high-speed magnet train, the Transrapid 07, is on show at the Hamburg International transport exhibition. But it is not yet ready to carry passengers.

When Transport Minister Jürgen Warneke and Research Minister Heinz Riesenhuber went to the test area in Finsland, a remote part of north Germany near the Dutch border, they had to make do with a trip on the 07's predecessor, the Transrapid 06.

The TR06 is about 20 tonnes heavier than the new speedster. It is not as elegant and, for a machine that is meant to be silent, pretty loud.

The engineers, however, say that all these are just teething troubles and, in autumn, the TR07 will be ready to show its paces on the rails. They say the new version will run with little noise, it will be more economical on energy, it will be environmentally acceptable and it will be cost advantageous.

They point out that the magnet system, built as it is in the air, needs little land; in principle the train has no speed limit; and, also in principle, there is no wear and tear because, the magnet suspension railway technology is such that track and train bogie systems do not touch. That is also the reason why it is claimed that derailment is not possible.

Trials will continue on the Emsland track until the year after next. Then will begin the marketing. The train is a joint project of six firms headed by Thyssen-Henschel. Marketing means that the train will have to succeed on stretches of rail where it can operate under "normal" circumstances.

The Bonn government, which has invested 1.3 billion marks in the project, has to make a decision on the train's future before the end of this month. A

committee headed by Rudolf Seiters (CDU) and Ulrich Wolfgang (FDP) is working on the question.

They say the train should be put into action in order to maintain the lead over the Japanese in this sort of technology, which experts put at four to five years.

The Japanese intent putting their own high-speed train into action by 1990.

There's a lot of foreign interest in the German train. Foreign buyers would like the Germans to get a move on and show just how good the train really is.

There is talk of an export market with a potential of up to 500 trains with a total length of 20,000 kilometres.

Seiters says time is pressing. Wolfgang agrees. He says delays are likely to cost the export market. Foreigners want to see the train in action, and they should be allowed to do so quickly as possible.

But the fact is that the Germans cannot even agree where to build a track or tracks. Herr Riesenhuber, whose Research Ministry handed out the DM1.3bn for the project, wants a track from Cologne to Frankfurt. He has the support of industrialists, technologists

— and a lot of politicians as well depending on where their constituencies are.

But Transport Minister Warneke and the Bundesbahn, are against the idea. They see the new train purely as competition and the last thing they want is for it to cream off traffic on the Bundesbahn's most profitable routes.

They point out that the magnet system, built as it is in the air, needs little land; in principle the train has no speed limit; and, also in principle, there is no wear and tear because, the magnet suspension railway technology is such that track and train bogie systems do not touch. That is also the reason why it is claimed that derailment is not possible.

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White blur or white elephant?

kilometres of track in foreign countries — planes being mentioned include Sydney to Melbourne, San Paulo to Buenos Aires and Los Angeles to Las Vegas — then the theoretical number of man-year jobs created would be about 2.5 million. But the more realistic level is 300,000 jobs for a further period of five years.

This of course presupposes that a track will be built between Cologne and Frankfurt, because this is the only stretch which would be attractive enough as a shop window for the world.

The show track needs to be at least 150 kilometres long and the interval between stations needs to be long enough to allow the train to reach its maximum speed of 400 kilometres an hour.

By comparison, the optimum speed for a rail-based train is between 250 and 280 kilometres an hour.

But it is becoming more and more unlikely that the magnet train will be taken into scheduled service on this stretch. There are more and more indications that the Bundesbahn's high-speed train will be used here and that the Transrapid will be used between Hamburg and Hanover.

Hamburg-Hanover is 141 kilometres, a little too short to show off the system to its best advantage.

Domestically, the possibilities are in any case limited for such a high-speed system. It makes sense only as a means of relieving the pressure on domestic air routes.

Where there are big transport problems on the ground — local commuter transport — the use of high-speed trains makes no sense at all.

The final result could be that the 1.3 billion marks given out by the Research Ministry will turn out to have been spent on a beautiful white elephant.

Peter Zudeck

(Deutsche Allgemeine Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 5 June 1988)



(Photo: Thyssen-Henschel)

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■ LANGUAGE

Forget all about Socrates, illiterates told

SONNTAGSBLETT

Soemers warned people against learning to write. He feared the powers of the memory would become neglected.

Mankind decided differently. Reading and writing became indispensable tools in a society which relies on the written language.

General compulsory education would guarantee that everyone would master the art of writing.

Or so it used to be thought. Now we know better. It is estimated that there are 500,000 people in this country who cannot write their name and address properly.

If the standard were upped slightly so that everybody had to write half a page about their careers, the future figure would catapult the number of illiterates into the millions.

Ten years ago, adult-education centres began their first literacy programmes. The Adolf Grimme Foundation in Marl, a town in the Ruhr, is holding a meeting to get to grips with the problem.

More than 90 experts in theory and practice, from home and abroad, from educational and employment administrations as well as from the media met and talked for two days about "functional literacy" at Marl.

There are about 10,000 adults taking part in educational courses at 300 establishments throughout the country on "German for Germans" or "Reading and writing for beginners."

These courses are put on mainly in the adult education centres in the Federal Republic or by independent bodies."

It is not unusual for participants in these courses to attend for four years. Learning to write is a difficult task and the years of hiding their inability to write in school and from the public to large have awakened a deep-seated sense of frustration and an inferiority complex that creates anxiety. These cannot be disposed of at a blow.

The experts in Marl all quickly agreed that the qualifications of the course teachers had to be improved (unless they are unemployed teachers) and teaching personnel changes limited.

The argument still continues among people involved with illiteracy whether schoolchildren learn to read and write despite or because of their lessons.

Everyone was agreed at Marl that too little consideration was given to those who in the early phases showed recognisable difficulties in picking up the techniques of reading and writing.

It is well-known that eight per cent of all pupils leave school without having passed the final examination.

Gerhard Kamper from the Academy of the Arts in Berlin demanded in his lecture that inadequate development must be detected in primary school, "that is before the appearance of difficulties that slowly become fixed."

This topic, that was unknown to many, should be taken up as an "obligatory subject" in teacher training.

Many experts also criticised educational regulations that stipulated that the reading and writing course should be completed in two school years.

This would be a disadvantage to schoolchildren who come from backgrounds where the written word is of little importance.

Fresh emphasis was given to the prejudices that illiterates have to contend with. The conference called for efforts to do away with the image of these people as intimidated, poor creatures and emphasise their other special abilities.

Attention was drawn at the conference to a building contractor who built up a firm which employed 18,000 workers from the labour of the hook evers and of a driving licence holder who had learned the written examination completely by heart. All of these people were illiterate.

Apart from providing opportunities to learn further the social stigma of not being able to read must be tackled. Educational representatives from North Rhine-Westphalia expressed their general interest in cooperating with various institutions combatting illiteracy in the future. That was new.

Heinz Ströbl from Bavarian Radio promised to broadcast four advertising spots on illiteracy prepared by North German Radio.

Gerhard Vogel of North German Radio promised to develop new spots for 1990, the UNESCO year for literacy.

UNESCO official Bernhard Glüsing suggested that this theme should be made a high point in the Frankfurt Book Fair.

Reiner Schatz
(Deutsche Allgemeine Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 29 May 1988)

Words used by politicians 'are aimed at domination'

The Honn Martin Schleyer Foundation took as its theme for its fourth "Young scientists and culture" congress in Essen "Where is our language going?"

The individual attitudes of the young scientists and professors to this question were very different. Professor Thomas Ellwein from Constance confirmed that the language of politics was not aimed at cognition but at domination."

Professor Ellwein said that demands were constantly made of politicians, they were constantly in the public eye and had to show leadership qualities.

They had to "compete with their opponents and always appeal to the sense of togetherness and pay tribute to the entertainment value that politics now has to have."

Naturally this is very toxic. One does not need to describe what is lacking.

Gerd Buehler, former director-general of Austrian Television, mentioned that through their reporting the media gave not only an impression of the externalities of politics but more and more of the actors on the political scene.

This occurred in the case of a young girl who was kidnapped near Cologne. Shortly before her violent death she wrote two letters, in which the two main suspects were exonerated — they are now on trial before the Bonn district court.

Drommel discovered that the woman was forced to write the letters.

One of many factors that led to this conclusion was that on examining 600,000 words in her private correspondence one certain word did not appear once. One of the present accused, however, used this expression regularly.

Drommel believes that it is imperative to make better use than has been done until now of language analysis in a time of personal computers. More and more black-mail letters are produced on computers.

A slipped A on an old typewriter no longer reveals the identity of a wrongdoer, as it did in Miss Marple's day.

Buehler pointed out that the right use of the mass media is a part of personal responsibility and the personal maturity of the individual.

Buehler said: "People who are fed up with themselves are certainly also fed

Forensic linguistics takes up where Miss Marple left off

Agatha Christie's character, Miss Marple, solved the trickiest crimes with a mixture of a knowledge of human nature and powers of deduction.

Criminologists today would fail miserably using these qualities alone. The indispensable tools of a criminologist now are computers and highly sensitive medical, chemical and technical equipment.

But still criminal investigators do not use all the scientific possibilities available to identify the writers of anonymous letters through textual examination, according to Raimund Drommel, 42, a Cologne language expert.

He teaches at the universities of Cologne and Siegen and, since 1973, has spent a lot of time working on textual examination and what is known as forensic linguistics.

But unlike other disciplines forensic linguistics ekes out a miserable existence in the crime technology world.

Although hardly a day passes in which a department store does not get an anonymous threat or the owner of a company is not blackmailed, there is usually far too much delay in using all available analytical methods.

Some years ago a local police chief discovered to his cost that no-one is immune from anonymous accusations. Over several months, the Land minister and the public prosecutor

were inundated with anonymous letters abusing the police chief.

Investigators managed to reduce the number of suspects to a few, but then progress stopped.

Until they turned to Herr Drommel. His name came up because he had written an article for a specialist magazine.

Drommel got to work on examples of the suspects' writing, pored over the ongoing literature at the beginning of the 1970s on modern linguistics and came upon a case that was decisive to rehabilitating the police chief and in establishing the identity of the letter writer.

Another case: in October 1952, Dick Holender, a theology professor at Strängnäs in Sweden, was elected bishop. But beforehand, many of the diocesan electors received anonymous letters promoting the cause of Holender and criticising his opponent.

Two language researchers were enlisted. They analysed the texts of the letters, comparing them for style, use of words, sentence construction and other criteria with documents written by Bishop Holender — and unmasked him as the author. He was dismissed.

Drommel followed up similar "linguistic finger-prints," tracking down the anonymous author of the letters against the German police chief. It was one of his own officials.

As a police officer the official had got accustomed to using certain expressions in speech and in his writing, which eventually found their way into his private correspondence.

Examination of the written word, which the police and the courts have used for some time, is not sufficient to protect the innocent and find out the guilty, according to Raimund Drommel.

The writer and author of a text are not necessarily the same person. The victim of a crime can be forced to write a letter, that would exonerate the criminal.

Only a systematic comparison of such a letter with other writings of the person concerned can show that this is what has happened.

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Ursula Diedenhofer

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 17 May 1988)

■ AUCTIONS

Letters of Marx and Lenin bring the collectors in

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

The ideas of Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Vladimir Lenin (1870-1924) do not have much credit outside the Soviet Union.

Despite glasnost, perestroika and the opening up of Mother Russia to the West, the theories propounded by Marx and Lenin, intellectual godfathers of the Soviet Union, count for little in a political landscape through which the cold fronts of neo-conservatism are blowing.

But to the surprise of the usual observer examples of their hand-written items fetch enormous prices at autograph auctions in the West.

A four-page letter from Karl Marx to Thomas Alcock dated 1878 reached the dizzy heights of DM180,000 after hectic bidding at the Marburg dealers Stargardt in March.

Klaus Mecklenburg of Stargardt dryly said that letter from Lenin to the German socialist Clara Zetkin fetched a similar record sum at a Stargardt auction last year.

Other auction houses can talk about quite different sums. An original manuscript by Albert Einstein (1879-1955) on his theory of relativity was secretly sold by Sotheby's in New York for between half and a million marks.

The bidding at Sotheby's for a Franz Kafka (1883-1924) letter to his fiancée Felice Bauer went within a few seconds from \$20,000 to \$55,000.

The anonymous bidder on the telephone was, like the bidder for the Marx and Lenin letters, a private collector from Europe, as Sotheby's discreetly put it.

Surprisingly the manuscript market is mainly dominated by private enthusiasts. Manuscript auctioneers all say that speculators are rare in the trade. If one does emerge he quickly disappears.

Franz Kafka, for example, died young and destroyed many of his manuscripts. Nevertheless the price his letter to his fiancée fetched was surprising, for Kafka's letters are usually only of interest in the German-speaking world.

Manuscript dealers are not very keen to talk about prices, particularly high prices. Alain Moirand of the Erasmus dealers in Basle amplified this by saying:

"This sector is too sophisticated for speculators."

He has a horror of efforts to get record prices, common in art dealing.

Continued from page 10

up with television. Children who grow up in front of television are not too much of a television problem as a problem for their parents.

Television is not responsible for the loneliness of the elderly; the young are who let them down.

There has always been violence, contempt for mankind and stupidity, even without the media. What has not always been available is that every citizen can now become well informed and through a variety of methods.

The heads of the colliery and the Mining Office reject this theory.

People have never before known so much about the activities of the government, about what is happening in the world, about the economy, technology, science and the arts as now.

Buehler said that it would be dangerous for people if media democracy was exchanged for media domination.

Continued on page 11

Deniers do not want a state of affairs similar to that prevailing in the art business.

Worldwide there are between 30 to 40 serious manuscript dealers. They try to keep prices "within moderate limits," according to Klaus Mecklenburg. This is very much in the interests of the academic world.

If the manuscript market had become an arena for speculators, as has happened in the art market, academic institutions and many private people would not have been able to keep up.

Nevertheless the price spiral could not be arrested. This is partly due to technical and social developments in this century.

Alain Moirand said: "Writing by hand is becoming more and more rare. Scientists and writers work with a computer today. Who knows, perhaps in the next century we shall be dealing in original floppy discs."

Then can be added that most people maintain direct contact with one another by telephone.

Klaus Mecklenburg maintains that despite spiralling prices it is still possible to acquire valuable manuscripts for sums equal to the cost of a car in the medium-range. But one has to know what one is doing. Manuscript dealers make no recommendations. Mecklenburg said: "We can't."

This is quite different to the fine arts world, where one can buy "blind" a van Gogh, a Manet or a Degas. This is a source of continuous surprise to autograph dealers.

Original scores of music are among the most valued manuscripts because there is a worldwide interest in them.

A music manuscript of *Lohengrin* by Richard Wagner (1813-1883) for DM26,000 was below its estimated value, but a score by 12-tonalist Anton Webern (1883-1945) climbed from DM7,500 to DM22,000.

Alain Moirand explained this by saying: "There are very few manuscripts by Webern openly available. Almost all his works are locked away in archives."

Should important works come on the market or be threatened with sale, it is not unusual for the author's descendants to put up a fight for the work.

Last year when the great-granddaughter of Emile Zola wanted to sell the original manuscript of his famous defence of Alfred Dreyfus, *J'accuse*, her father obtained a court order that the manuscript, dating from 1889, should remain in the possession of the family.

Dealers are convinced that this manuscript would have reached a high price. Knowing this and knowing that the manuscript was of considerable

of the overpowering experiences they have gone through.

The destruction caused by the explosion, the suffering of the miners' families, the tears of joy of the survivors, the exhaustion of the helpers, the pressure of the journalists and of public involvement in this tragedy.

Those directly affected would undoubtedly have preferred greater discretion and less hustle and bustle.

The rescue and recovery work continues. The men from the rescue squads, who have come to Borken from mining towns throughout Germany, keep on searching in the hope of finding perhaps one more survivor.

But that is no guarantee of a high price. At the beginning of March a manuscript from the French physicist and Nobel Prize-winner Henri Becquerel (1852-1908) came under the hammer at Stargardt in Marburg. After Chernobyl at least his name has become world-famous.

But the manuscript was knocked down for only DM550. Probably a speculator would have been deceived and been taken in by a clever bluffer, hoping to sell the manuscript for an enormous sum.

Urs Timp (Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 20 May 1988)

A high note

Auctions do not account for the sales of all letters and other hand-written items, which makes it difficult to produce a list of which authors or authresses command the highest prices.

Dealers will not say a word about transactions that take place out of the public gaze. Nevertheless it can be said that manuscripts from musicians and revolutionaries seem to be the best bets at the moment. For example:

A letter from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart to the Baroness Wohlstädt dated 1783 fetched DM147,900.

DM112,200 was paid for a letter dated 1789 in Bursa from Maximilien Robespierre.

A letter from Frédéric Chopin to Stéphane Clésinger (about his parting from George Sand) was sold for DM61,

■ HERITAGE

Exhibition digs deep into the roots of Bavaria

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

Bavaria's history began about 1,500 years ago during the period of the Migration of Peoples. Three hundred years later, the first period of Bavarian history came to a violent end.

The Bavarian Duke Tassilo III, from the House of Agilolfinger, who felt like a king and who was very self-willed, was deserted by his nobles and had to flee to Charlemagne.

Tassilo abdicated in 788 AD and spent the rest of his life with his wife and children in a monastery. Instead of the death sentence he was pardoned and given a slow "death in a monastery."

The Land Salzburg and Bavaria have jointly put on an exhibition, "Die Bajuwaren. Von Severin bis Tassilo 788-788," dealing with these dark 300 years when the population in Bavaria and eastern Austria made up a unified area of settlement.

The exhibition will be shown in Austria at Mattsee and in Bavaria in Rosenheim up to 6 November.

The "Bajuwaren" or Bavarians, were regarded as mysterious people not only outside the frontiers of Bavaria. Suddenly from nowhere the "Bajuwaren" stormed upon history's stage.

In Jordane's history of the Goths, *De Gotiis Origine et Rebus Gestis*, they are named in passing 551 times. They lived to the East of the Suevi, that is to the east of the Lech, that formed the frontier between the Alemanni or Swabians.

Where did the Barba or Baoi(yarri) (and other spellings that have been handed down depending on the ear of the writer in the Early Middle Ages sources) come from?

The "men from the land of Baio" early enough the imagination of the academics.

They were linked to the Celts "Boern." Others maintained "the founders of the Migration of Peoples" came from Baiheim, the translation of the Latinised Boiohaemum (Bohemia), and some that they were Marcomanni who immigrated into the Bavarians' lands. All these ingenious theories got nowhere.

The "Bajuwaren" exhibition, animated by Austria and four years in preparation, is summing up for a wide public of the excavations in both countries.

The idea that the Bajuwaren immigrated as a tribe into the Bavaria lands has finally been dismissed into the land of legend.

The Bajuwaren people originated from the lands between the Danube, Salzach, Lech and Inn. They merged with various other tribes, mostly Germanic in origin, with Celts, Romans, Slavs, Avars and thus with their typical, intentionally deformed skulls." They were a lively and tribal mixture.

The fathers of these vigorous, earthy "foundlings" have gradually been discovered. The organizers of the exhibition suggest the image of the "Vikings of the North" for them.

This is shown for the most part in the Mattsee part of the exhibition. Mattsee is a small, idyllic village between two lakes in the delightful holiday area of Salzburg's Voralpenland.

We must go back to the end of Roman

rule in the search for the origins of the Bajuwaren.

The Roman Empire, suffering from exhaustion, used more and more hired allies and Germanic mercenaries in the frontier forts for defence against the invasions of the Alemanni and other Germanic tribes.

When the Germanic commander Odoacer replaced the Emperor Romulus Augustulus in 476, pushing the Western Roman Empire to its end, there was a halt in the pay for the Germanic auxiliaries.

The frontier defence system fell apart. In the province of Raetia II, that extended to the Lech, the Alemanni pushed forward.

regarded by Bishop Arbeo of Freising as impregnate in 771.

These Germani were numerically not very great but they were a group that set the tone and their name was extended to include all the people.

The Langobards, allied to the Avars, made room for the Avars in Lower Austria and in 568 moved to Italy.

The Bajuwaren (and the Alemanni) took over the Langobard custom of placing in the graves of the Christian dead a cross of gold-foil.

Around them gathered the Romans left behind and the descendants of the Huns, the immigrant Alemanni, Ostrogoths, Langobards and Thuringians.

The proportions of the tribes are not yet known in detail, but the neighbouring Alemanni exercised a great influence, shown in the language, place names and the material legacy they left behind.

Anthropologically they are very diverse. The Bajuwaren had wider and more squat skulls, and "typically inherent anomalies" such as developmental faults in the spinal column and deformed shins and fibulae.

The mercenaries from the Danube were overthrown by the Ostrogoth King Theodoric the Great. He had succeeded Odoacer in Italy and built up a powerful empire as a counterweight to the Merovingian kings.

Theodoric claimed the former Roman provinces south of the Danube and under his rule (up to 537) there was peace in the land of the Bajuwaren after this period of unrest.

The fusion of the various ethnic groups promoted the formation of the Bajuwaren.

The Avars, who were horsemen, were the neighbours of the Bajuwaren in the second half of the 6th century. They were feared because of their new, superior weaponry, their far-reaching bows, their assault lances, their armour and saddles with stirrups.

The many golden objects found in the burial grounds of their leaders are evidence of the immense amounts of tribute

paid by the Bajuwaren.

Their centre was the legionary fort of Regensburg with its massive ashlar walls,

and the

■ FRONTIERS

Jostling queues at Jesus' wardrobe on skid row

SONNTAGSBLATT

Jesus is alive and well in the Hamburg red-light district of St Pauli, at Talstrasse 11, to be precise, just off the Reeperbahn.

The shop is there for all to see, lit up brightly with a neon sign proclaiming: "Jesus in St Pauli." The sign looks just like mother across the road which belongs to a cinema showing sex films: a large, rectangular box with black characters against the lit-up orange background.

True, the hours of business are not the same as the cinema; nor of Yaya, the Turkish quick-fond joint next door; nor of Trumpetor Sophie or of Tam Tam. But the customers come, all the same.

Just before 3 pm, about 25 women jostle each other outside the door: young pregnant women and old toothless women; older pregnant women and younger toothless women. They complain loudly in Turkish, German, Polish or Yugoslavian.

At three o'clock, the house at Talstrasse 11 opens its wardrobe — Tuesdays are for men and Thursdays for women. These are the days when the St Pauli Salvation Army hands out free clothing.

Ulrike is in a room on the first floor with eight young people. She is a trained nurse who joined the Salvation Army five years ago. She knows what is going on down below in front of the door. She offers a short prayer: "God, when I see the women pushing and shoving, it makes me aggressive. Please give me a massive helping of relaxation to keep me cool."

Anja, who is a nursing aide trained to look after old people and who began in Talstrasse just four months ago, takes a more practical line: "Lord, please let the women have a little more calmness so they don't tear the clothes to tatters."

They are not the only ones there when the distribution takes place; there

why her eyes are red and swollen: "The cold air outside does it." You can smell the schnapps a mile away.

Aja calls Number 22 in to the clothing room. She helps the woman find a pullover the right size and colour. The woman wants to know whether red or pink suit her best.

The shoes are a simpler proposition. The woman, heavily overweight, sees a pair of high-heeled pumps and knows straight away they are the right ones. She puts them on and says they only fit because two toes are missing on each foot.

"Frostbite," she says and elaborates. "When I was 15, I couldn't stand it any longer with my step-mother. I got out. On the way, I went to sleep in the snow."

The selection in the wardrobe is big. Church communities make regular deliveries of old clothing and many people bring their own unwanted clothes themselves.

Thus: "We are almost up with fashion. It makes working here fun. Our down-and-outs are smartly dressed."

But there are still frustrations. He says the reasons for the deprivation remain. People have new clothes, but the attendants are stuck.

Psychology student Christoph van Eding is one of 15 who has volunteered for the service. He says the aim is to help women defeat the fear.

One of those to use the service, which began at the beginning of May, is Nicolette Ohermeler, a student. She welcomes the service but says that she needs it at night, not so much during the day when "it is not so bad in the garrigue."

But she points out that the escorts are only available between 10 am and 7 pm. The car park management, however, plans to increase the hours of attendance until the theatre and cinema come out.

She points out that the escorts are not as tragic as I once did. It's a part of life." But she does get satisfaction from her work: "I believe we are fulfilling Jesus' wishes. We don't just talk about drinking and organise their lives along better lines."

These days I find the relapse cases

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